THE

LATE REGULATIONS,

RESPECTING THE

British Colonies

ON THE CONTINENT OF

AMERICA

CONSIDERED:

In a LETTER from a Gentleman in PHILADELPHIA to his Friend in LONDON.

Prosunt minus recte excogitata; cum alios incitent saltem ad veritatis investigationem. FULB. A BARTOL.

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THE LATE REGULATIONS, RESPECTING THE British Colonies, CONSIDERED.

SIR,

WHEN I laſt wrote to you, and ſaid, "that the late meaſures reſpecting America, would not only be extremely injurious to the Colonies, but alſo to Great Britain," I little thought I was entering into an engagement, which would oblige me to exceed the uſual limits of a letter: but ſince you deſire to have at large the reaſons in ſupport of this opinion, and I always think it my duty to comply with

with your requeſts, I will endeavour in the cleareſt manner I can, to lay my ſentiments before you.

The American continental colonies are inhabited by perſons of ſmall fortunes, who *are* ſo cloſely employed in ſubduing a wild country, for their ſubſiſtence, and who *would* labour under ſuch difficulties in contending with old and populous countries, which muſt exceed them in workmanſhip and cheapneſs, that they have not time nor any temptation to apply themſelves to manufactures.

Hence ariſes the * importance of the colonies

* It has been ſaid in the Houſe of Commons, when complaints have been made of the decay of trade to any part of Europe, "That ſuch things were not worth regard, as Great Britain was poſſeſſed of colonies that could conſume more of her manufactures than ſhe was able to ſupply them with.

"As the caſe now ſtands, we ſhall ſhew, that the plantations are a ſpring of wealth to this nation, that they work for us, that their treaſure centers all here, and that the laws have tied them faſt enough to us; ſo that it muſt be through our own fault and miſmanagement, if they become independent of England.

DAVENANT on the Plantation Trade.

"It is better that the iſlands ſhould be ſupplied from

nies to Great Britain. Her proſperity depends on her commerce; her commerce on her manufactures; her manufactures

from the northern colonies than from England, for this reaſon, the proviſions we might ſend to Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c. would be unimproved product of the earth, as grain of all kinds, or ſuch product where there is little got by the improvement, as malt, ſalt, beef, and pork; indeed the exportation of ſalt-fiſh thither would be more advantageous, but the goods which we ſend to the northern colonies are ſuch, whoſe improvement may be juſtly ſaid, one with another, to be near four-fifths of the value of the whole commodity, as apparel, houſhold-furniture, and many other things." *Idem.*

"New England is the moſt prejudicial plantation to the kingdom of England; and yet, to do right to that moſt induſtrious Engliſh colony, I muſt confeſs, that though we loſe by their unlimited trade with other foreign plantations, yet we are very great gainers by their direct trade to and from Old England. Our yearly exportations of Engliſh manufactures, malt and other goods, from hence thither, amounting, in my opinion, to ten times the value of what is imported from thence; which calculation I do not make at random, but upon mature conſideration, and, peradventure, upon as much experience in this very trade as any other perſon will pretend to; and therefore, whenever reformation of our correſpondency in trade with that people ſhall be thought on, it will, in my poor judgment, require great tenderneſs, and very ſerious circumſpection."

Sir JOSIAH CHILD's Diſcourſe on Trade.

"Our plantations ſpend moſtly our Engliſh manufactures, and thoſe of all ſorts almoſt imaginable, in egregious quantities, and employ near two-thirds of

all

tures on the markets for them; and the moſt conſtant and advantageous markets are afforded by the colonies, as in all others the

all our Engliſh ſhipping; ſo that we have more people in England, by reaſon of our plantations in America."

Idem.

Sir Joſiah Child ſays, in another part of his work, "That not more than fifty families are maintained in England by the refining of ſugar." From whence, and from what Davenant ſays, it is plain, that the advantages here ſaid to be derived from the plantations by England, muſt be meant chiefly of the continental colonies. *See notes to pages 12 and 13.*

"I ſhall ſum up my whole remarks on our American colonies with this obſervation, that as they are a certain annual revenue of ſeveral millions ſterling to their mother country, they ought carefully to be protected, duly encouraged, and every opportunity that preſents improved for their increaſement and advantage, as every one they can poſſibly reap muſt at laſt return to us with intereſt."

BEAWES's Lex. Merc. Red.

"We may ſafely advance, that our trade and navigation are greatly encreaſed by our colonies, and that they really are a ſource of treaſure and naval power to this kingdom, ſince they work for us, and their treaſure centers here. Before their ſettlement our manufactures were few, and thoſe but indifferent; the number of Engliſh merchants very ſmall, and the whole ſhipping of the nation much inferior to what now belongs to the northern colonies only. Theſe are certain facts. But ſince their eſtabliſhment our condition has altered for the better, almoſt to a degree beyond credibility. Our manufactures are prodigiouſly encreaſed, chiefly by the demand for them in the plantations, where they at leaſt take off one-half, and ſup-

ply

the ‡ reſt of Europe interferes with her, and various accidents may interrupt them. The benefit from hence is at *preſent* immenſe; but in *future* times, when America ſhall be more fully peopled, muſt exceed with prudent management the warmeſt wiſhes of a Britiſh patriot.

Our chief productions are proviſions, naval ſtores, furs, iron and lumber. A few colonies yield tobacco and indigo. Some of theſe commodities are neceſſary to Great Britain; but all that ſhe requires are vaſtly inſufficient to pay for her manufactures which we want. The productions of ſome of the ſouthern colonies may perhaps be equal to their demands, but the caſe is widely different with the northern; for in theſe,

ply us with many valuable commodities for exportation, which is as great an emolument to the mother kingdom, as to the plantations themſelves."

POSTLETHWAYT's Dict. of Trade and Com.

‡ "Moſt of the nations of Europe have interfered with us, more or leſs, in divers of our ſtaple manufactures, within half a century, not only in our woollen, but in our lead and tin manufactures, as well as — — fiſheries."

POSTLETHWAYT, *ibid.*

the importations from Great Britain are computed to be generally more than double the value of their immediate exportations to that kingdom.

The only expedient left us for making our remittances, is to carry on ſome other trade, whereby we can obtain ſilver and gold, which our own country does not afford. Hence it is evident, that if our taking off and paying for her manufactures, is beneficial to Great Britain, the channels by which we acquire money for that purpoſe, ought to be induſtriouſly kept open and uninterrupted.

Our trade with Spain, Portugal, and the foreign plantations in the Weſt Indies, have chiefly anſwered this end, though with much difficulty, the mother-country having long ſince drawn the * commercial cords with

* As far as regulations are requiſite to confine the commerce of the colonies to Britiſh ſubjects and to Britiſh ſhips, to give Great Britain the preference in being ſupplied with naval ſtores, ſo eſſential to her ſtrength at ſea, with commodities neceſſary for carrying on her woollen manufactures, or ſuch articles as can bear high duties upon them, and thereby make a con-

which the colonies are bound, extremely tight upon them. Every thing produced *here*, that Great Britain chuſes to take to herſelf, muſt be carried to that kingdom † *only*—Every thing we chuſe to import from

conſiderable addition to the revenue, or, as far as they are requiſite, to prevent the colonies from being ſupplied with any thing in the place of Britiſh manufactures, they may be reaſonable. Theſe regulations, it is apprehended, eſtabliſh the baſis of the Britiſh power, and form ſuch a firm connection between the mother country and her colonies, as will produce all the advantages ſhe ought to wiſh for, or that they can afford her. Any further attempt to ſhackle ſome of the colonies in favour of others, or to advance the revenue in America by reſtraining her trade, is but regulating, by a ſevere exerciſe of power, what wants no regulation, and loſing by too much haſte to gain. (*See notes to pages* 25, 26.) Unneceſſary and irritating reſtrictions will at laſt caſt contempt and hatred on thoſe ſubſtantial ones, that length of time, and the natural reverence of colonies for their mother country, would have conſecrated; for diſcontented minds are not apt to diſtinguiſh. "Narrow limited notions in trade and planting are only advanced by, and can only be of uſe to particular perſons, but are always injurious to the public intereſts, in preventing the full employment of our own people, and giving our rivals and competitors in trade the opportunity of employing greater numbers of theirs, producing greater quantities of merchandizes, and underſelling us at foreign markets." POSTLETHWAYT's Dict. of Trade and Com.

† Monteſquieu, ſpeaking of the contract made by Poland for ſelling all her corn to Dantzick only; and another of the like nature between ſome Indian Princes and

from Europe, muſt be ſhipped in * Great Britain—Heavy duties have been laid on our importations from the foreign plantations.

However, under all theſe reſtraints, and ſome others that have been impoſed on us, we have not till lately been unhappy. Our ſpirits were not depreſſed. We apprehended no deſign formed againſt our liberty. We for a long time enjoyed peace, and were quite free from any heavy debt, either internal or external. We had a paper currency which ſerved as a medium of domeſtic commerce, and permitted us to employ all the gold and ſilver we could acquire, in trade abroad. We had a multitude of markets

and the Dutch for ſpices, ſays, "Theſe agreements are proper for a poor nation, whoſe inhabitants are ſatisfied to forego the hopes of enriching themſelves, provided they can be ſecure of a certain ſubſiſtence; or for nations, whoſe ſlavery conſiſts either in renouncing the uſe of thoſe things which nature has given them, or in being obliged to ſubmit to a diſadvantageous commerce."

* Except ſalt from any part of Europe for the fiſheries of Newfoundland, New-England, New-York, and Penſylvania, and a few things from Ireland.

for

for our provisions, lumber and iron. These allowed liberties, with some others we assumed, enabled us to collect considerable sums of money for the joint benefit of ourselves and our mother-country.

But the modern regulations are in every circumstance afflicting. The remittances we have been able to make to Great Britain, with all the licence hitherto granted or taken, and all the money brought among us in the course of the late war, have not been sufficient to pay her what we owe; but there still remains due, according to a late calculation made by the English merchants, the sum of four millions sterling. Besides this, we are and have been for many years heavily taxed for the payment of the debts contracted by our efforts against the common enemy. These seem to be difficulties severe enough for young colonies to contend with. The last * sinks our paper currency very

* While the quantity of paper currency is proportioned to the uses for it, it must be beneficial; and therefore to sink it below that quantity must be prejudicial.

fast

faſt. The former ſweeps off our ſilver and gold in a torrent to Great Britain, and leaves us continually toiling to ſupply from a number of diſtant ſprings the continually waſting ſtream.

Thus drained, we are prohibited by new and ſtricter reſtraints being laid on our trade, from procuring theſe coins as we uſed to do; and from inſtituting among ourſelves bills of credit in the place of ſuch portions of them as are required in our internal traffic; and in this exhauſted condition, our languiſhing country is to ſtrive to take up and to totter under the additional burthen of the *Stamp Act*.

In defence of the prohibition to inſtitute *bills of credit*, it may be ſaid, "that ſome few colonies, by injudicious emiſſions of paper currency, did great injury to individuals." It is true; but it is as true, that others ‡ always ſupported the credit of their

‡ No attempt was ever made in this province, and ſome others, to pay Engliſh debts any otherwiſe than according to the rate of Exchange; and no complaint was ever made of injuſtice from the depreciation of the currency.

bills in ſuch a manner, that their emiſſions were of vaſt benefit both to the provinces and to Great Britain. The inconveniencies under which the colonies laboured before theſe emiſſions, are well remembered, and were produced by the ſame cauſe that diſtreſſes us at this time; that is, by Great Britain's taking off all our gold and ſilver. There was then ſo little money among ſeveral of them, that a ſtop was put in a manner to buying and ſelling, and even ſhopkeepers were obliged to barter their goods for food. The effect produced by theſe emiſſions was ſurprizing—Trade revived; and the remarkable and immediate ‖ increaſe

‖ Value of the exports from England to Penſylvania at different periods.

In 1723	they were	£15,992	19	4
1730	- -	48,592	7	5
1737	- -	56,690	6	7
1742	- -	75,295	3	4

In the year 1723 the firſt bills of credit were emitted in Penſylvania to the value of 45000l. In 1728, part of the firſt emiſſion being then ſunk, 30000l. more were emitted. It appears from the account above, that in ſeven years, from 1723 to 1730, the exports increaſed £32,599 8 1 ſterling. In 1738, great part of the preceding emiſſions being then ſunk, there was an

creaſe of our importations ſhewed how advantageous they were to Great Britain. If any inconveniences were feared from this kind of curreney, means might have been found to prevent them, without utterly aboliſhing it: but now, the apprehenſion of miſchiefs that might have been more eaſily obviated, has deprived us of real benefits.

Perhaps no mode could be deviſed more advantageous to the public, or to individuals, than

an emiſſion, and re-emiſſion, amounting in the whole to 80000l. In five years afterwards, it appears by the account above, the exports increaſed near 20000l. ſterling.

In later times, when larger emiſſions have been made, the exports have proportionably increaſed. In 1755, 55000l. were emitted: and in 1756, 30000l. In 1757, the exports amounted to £268,426 6 6. Afterwards our emiſſions were ſtill greater, and in one year of the war, the exports roſe to more than 700,000l. ſterling.

It is not pretented, that the increaſe of our importations is ſolely owing to the emiſſions of paper money, but it is thought to be a very great cauſe of that increaſe. It is undoubtedly owing in part to the increaſe of people by propagation, and the influx of foreigners. But ſuch great and ſudden increaſes as have been mentioned in the ſhort ſpace of ſeven or five years, from 1723 to 1730, and from 1737 to 1742, could not, in any great degree, proceed from the increaſe by propagation; and at that time I think foreigners did not

flow

than our method of emitting bills in this province for our own uſe. They are lent out upon good ſecurity, chiefly real, at the intereſt of 5 *per cent.* The borrowers are allowed a long term for payment, and the ſums borrowed being divided into equal portions, they are obliged to pay one of theſe with the intereſt of the whole, every year during the term.

flow in upon us in ſuch numbers as they ſince have done. In the war large ſums were brought among us for the maintenance of the fleets and armies, it is true; but that our currency was then of great utility is evident, becauſe when the greateſt quantity of it was paſſing, bills of exchange were lower than they were for a long time before, or have been ſince.

It may be objected, that the complaint of the ſcarcity of money in America, particularly in this province, cannot be well founded, as we have lately had ſuch large emiſſions. I am very ſenſible how liable perſons are to errors in queſtions of this nature, and therefore I think myſelf obliged to ſpeak with diffidence on the ſubject. Perhaps the following obſervations may in ſome meaſure anſwer the objection. 1ſt. About one-half of the emiſſions is ſunk. 2dly. A very great part of the bills now circulating are paſſing in the neighbouring provinces. 3dly. Our gold and ſilver are ſent to Great Britain, ſo that but ſmall quantities thereof are now current among us; and therefore we muſt almoſt entirely rely on our paper for the medium of domeſtic commerce. Laſtly, It does not ſeem probable, that we ſhould have heard ſuch great complaints of the ſcarcity of money, if the extreme reſtrictions of our commerce, had not ſo generally prevented our uſual methods of acquiring it.

This renders payments very eaſy; and as no perſon is permitted to borrow a large ſum, a great number are accommodated. The conſequences of ſuch regulations are obvious. Theſe bills repreſent money in the ſame manner that money repreſents other things. As long therefore as the quantity is proportioned to the uſes, theſe emiſſions have the ſame effects, that the gradual introduction of additional ſums of money would have. People of very ſmall fortunes are enabled to purchaſe and cultivate land, which is of ſo much conſequence in ſettling new countries, or to carry on ſome buſineſs, that without ſuch aſſiſtance they would be incapable of managing: for no private perſon would lend money on ſuch favourable terms. From the borrowers the currency paſſes into other hands, encreaſes conſumption, raiſes the prices of commodities, quickens circulation, and, after communicating a vigour to all kinds of induſtry, returns in its courſe into the poſſeſſion of the

borrowers,

borrowers, to repay them for that labour which it may properly be ſaid to have produced. They deliver it, according to the original contracts, into the treaſury, where the intereſt raiſes a fund, without the impoſition of taxes, for the public uſe.

While emiſſions are thus conducted with prudence, they may be compared to ſprings, whoſe water an induſtrious and knowing farmer ſpreads in many meandering rivulets through his gardens and meadows, and after it has refreſhed all the vegetable tribes it meets with, and has ſet them a growing, leads it into a reſervoir, where it anſwers ſome new purpoſe.

If it could be poſſible to eſtabliſh a currency throughout the colonies on ſome foundation of this kind, perhaps greater benefits might be derived from it, than would be generally believed without the trial.

With reſpect to the reſtrictions laid on our trade to foreign plantations, it has been

alledged as a reaſon for them, " that our iſlands ought to be encouraged." They ought to be; but ſhould the intereſt of one colony be preferred to that of another? Should the welfare of millions be ſacrificed to the magnificence of a few? If the exorbitant profits of one colony muſt ariſe from the depreſſion of another, ſhould not ſuch injuſtice be redreſſed?

There is a vaſt difference to be made in calculating the gains of any particular branch of buſineſs to the public, and to individuals. The advantages to the laſt may be ſmall, and yet great to the firſt, or the reverſe. The ſtatutes made to reſtrain the trade of the continent in * favour of the iſlands,

* " The agents for New York, in their conteſt with the ſugar colonies, affirmed, That their winters being ſevere, obliged them to take off more of the woolen manufactures of this kingdom *(for which they remitted gold and ſilver)* than all the iſlands (Jamaica excepted) put together; and which I believe has remained uncontradicted."

BEAWES's Lex Merc. Red.

If one province then exceeded all our Weſt Indies, except Jamaica, in this particular, what proportion would

iſlands, ſeem to tend rather towards promoting

would that ſingle iſland bear now to all the reſt of the continental colonies?

The following account of the exports from England to the Northern Colonies, and to the Weſt India iſlands, will ſhew they were nearly equal ſome time ago; that thoſe to the Northern colonies now vaſtly exceed, and are prodigiouſly encreaſing, while thoſe to the iſlands have continued nearly the ſame.

From 1744 to 1748, incluſive.

	Northern Colonies.	*Weſt India Iſlands.*
1744	£640,114 12 4	£796,112 17 9
1745	534,316 2 5	503,669 19 9
1746	754,945 4 3	472,994 19 7
1747	726,648 5 5	856,463 18 6
1748	830,243 16 9	734,095 15 3
Total	£3,486,268 1 2	£3,363,337 19 10
	Difference	122 930 10 4
		£3,486,268 1 2

From 1754 to 1758, incluſive.

	Northern Colonies.	*Weſt India Iſlands.*
1754	£1,246,615 1 11	£685,675 3 0
1755	1,177,848 6 10	694,667 13 3
1756	1,428,720 18 10	733,458 16 3
1757	1,727,924 2 10	776,488 0 6
1758	1,832,948 13 10	877,571 19 11
Total	£7,414,057 4 3	Tot. £3,767,841 12 11
		Difference 3,046,215 11 4
		£7,414,057 4 3

Tot. for the Northern Colonies in the firſt term — —	£3,486,268 1 2
Ditto, in the ſecond term —	7,414,057 4 3
Increaſe,	£3,927,789 3 1

moting ‡ partial than general intereſts; and it appears to me no paradox to ſay, that the public would be as great a gainer, if eſtates there were ſo * moderate, that not a tenth part of the Weſt India gentlemen, who

Total for the Weſt India Iſlands, in the firſt term —	£3,363,337	10 10
Ditto, in the ſecond term —	3,767,841	12 11
Increaſe, only	£0,404,504	2 1

The difference between the employment afforded to the manufacturers of England, by the Northern Colonies and by the Weſt India Iſlands, is ſtill greater than it may appear to be from the firſt view of the preceding account: for a much greater quantity of Eaſt India goods is exported to the laſt than to the firſt; and the Engliſh manufactures conſumed by them generally derive their value from the richneſs of the materials, many of which are brought from foreign countries, but thoſe we conſume, chiefly derive their value from the work beſtowed upon them. *(Vide note to page 5.)*

‡ *Vide note to page* 10.

* "A great advantage which the French have over the Engliſh in their ſugar colonies, is their Agrarian law, whereby monopoliſts are prevented from engroſſing too much land; ſo that the number of whites is greatly encreaſed, the land much improved, more commodities raiſed, the planters obliged to a more frugal way of living, and all things rendered cheaper. By theſe means Martinico can muſter 16,000 fighting men; but Jamaica, which is near three times as large, only 4000."

TUCKER on trade.

now

now ſit in the Houſe of Commons, could obtain that frequently expenſive honour.

It is allowed by thoſe well acquainted with the iſlands, that they cannot ſupply Great Britain, and theſe colonies, with ſugar and other articles, and that they can by no means conſume the productions of theſe colonies; yet in * favour to them we are almoſt entirely prevented from ſending

* It is recited in the 6th of Geo. II. ch. 13, now made perpetual, "that the ſugar colonies could not carry on their trade on an equal footing with the foreign ſugar colonies, without ſome advantage and relief given to them by Great Britain." That advantage given by Great Britain was to compel the continental colonies to take their productions at any price they pleaſe to aſk. In ſhort, to grant them a monopoly for ſugar. This was taking from one indeed to give to another; but goes not to the root of the evil; as the next preceding note evidently ſhews. For if Great Britain ſhould ſacrifice her own intereſts and thoſe of her continental colonies ſtill more, if it be poſſible, to the intereſt of theſe iſlanders, they never will "carry on their trade on an equal footing with the foreign ſugar colonies," until there is the ſame moderation in their eſtates, and the ſame frugality in their living. By a very ſingular diſpoſition of affairs, the colonies of an abſolute monarchy are ſettled on a republican principle; while thoſe of a kingdom in many reſpects reſembling a commonwealth, are cantoned out among a few lords, veſted with deſpotic power over myriads of vaſſals, and ſupported in the pomp of baſhaws by their ſlavery.

theſe productions to any other markets. Hence it follows, that we are frequently obliged to ſell our commodities to them at ſo low a price as not to pay the firſt coſt and freight; while we, being in a manner prohibited from getting the Weſt India productions, for which we have occaſion, any where elſe but from them, muſt pay extravagantly for them.

Nor is this management attended, as it is preſumed, with any benefit to the mother country, but with a diſadvantage either where the productions of the foreign plantations are conſumed among us, or re-exported to Europe. By the compulſion on us to take from our iſlands, the price of their productions is raiſed on the people of Great Britain. The revenue would be encreaſed by this reſtriction being taken off, as we ſhould willingly pay a moderate duty upon importations from the French and Spaniards, without attempting to run them; while a very conſiderable duty would be

paid

paid on the † ſugars of our iſlands, which, inſtead of coming to us, would then go to Great Britain. Beſides, whatever extraordinary price we pay for the productions of our own iſlands, muſt leſſen our demand for Britiſh manufactures; ſince it is an ‖ undeniable

† The reſtriction on the trade of the colonies to foreign plantations for melaſſes, is particularly grievous and impolitic, as the melaſſes brought from thence was diſtilled for the fiſheries, the Indian and Guinea trades, the profit of which centered in Great Britain. It is ſaid, our veſſels now buy ſpirituous liquors on the coaſt of Guinea from the Dutch.

‖ This cannot be diſputed by any one who is acquainted with America. The increaſe of a man's wealth there ſhews itſelf in a greater conſumption of Britiſh manufactures of all kinds.—This reaſoning in favour of the continental colonies trade with foreign plantations, is confirmed by what Sir Joſiah Child mentions of N. England.—He ſays, "England loſes by the unlimited trade of this colony to other foreign plantations, but gains by her direct trade to Old England, from whence ſhe exports manufactures to ten times the value of her imports." (*See the note to page 5.*) What was it then that enabled New England to pay ten times the value of her imports to England, but the profits of her trade to foreign plantations? This appears to be a direct authority in ſupport of the arguments hereafter uſed. It ſeems, therefore, that Great Britain of late, through too great eagerneſs to gather golden fruits, has ſhaken the tree before they were full grown. With a little patience they would ripen, and then of themſelves drop into her lap.

undeniable truth, that what we ſhould ſave in that way would be chiefly ſpent in this. It may alſo be added, that our commerce with the foreign plantations carries to them

" The inhabitants of our colonies, by carrying on a trade with their foreign neighbours, do not only occaſion a greater quantity of the goods and merchandizes of Europe being ſent from hence to them, and a greater quantity of the product of America to be ſent from them hither, which would otherwiſe be carried from, and brought to Europe by foreigners, but an increaſe of the ſeamen and navigation in thoſe parts, which is of great ſtrength and ſecurity, as well as of great advantage to our plantations in general. And though ſome of our colonies are not only for preventing the importations of all goods of the ſame ſpecies they produce, but ſuffer particular planters to keep great runs of land in their poſſeſſion uncultivated, with deſign to prevent new ſettlements, whereby they imagine the prices of their commodities may be affected; yet if it be conſidered, that the markets of Great Britain depend on the markets of all Europe in general, and that the European markets in general depend on the proportion between the annual conſumption and the whole quantity of each ſpecies annually produced by all nations; it muſt follow, that whether we or foreigners are the producers, carriers, importers and exporters of American produce, yet their reſpective prices in each colony (the difference of freight, cuſtoms and importations conſidered) will always bear proportion to the general conſumption of the whole quantity of each ſort, produced in all colonies, and in all parts, allowing only for the uſual contingencies that trade and commerce, agriculture and manufactures are liable to in all countries."

POSTLETHWAYT's Univ. Dict. of Trade and Commerce.

very

very conſiderable quantities of Britiſh manufactures for their conſumption. *

If our importations from them ſhould be re-exported to Europe, the profits would center in Great Britain, according to the uſual courſe of our trade. The ſtatute paſſed in the twenty-fifth year of Charles the ſecond, indeed mentions this practice as injurious. It might be ſo, if regarded without its attendant circumſtances; but if they are taken into view, and it be conſidered, that if we do not carry theſe productions to Europe, foreigners will, no miſchief ſeems likely to enſue from our becoming the carriers. §

The reſtriction alſo with regard to our iron is thought particularly ſevere. Whenever we can get a better price in Great Britain than elſewhere, it is unneceſſary; whenever we can get a better price in other

* See the preceding note.

† See the preceding note.

places,

places, it is ‡ prejudicial. Cargoes compoſed of this metal, proviſions, and lumber, have been found to anſwer very well at the Portugueſe and ſome other markets; and as the laſt articles are frequently very low, and our foreign trade is reduced to ſo few commodities, the taking away any one of them muſt be hurtful to us. Indeed, to require us to ſend all our iron to Great

‡ If Great-Britain really takes off from Sweden iron to the value of £200,000, according to the calculation that has been made, yet ſhe does not loſe all that ſum. Not to inſiſt on the merely political advantage of having a commerce with that proteſtant kingdom, which by being beneficial to her, may more firmly attach her to our intereſt, it may be obſerved, that the trade of Great-Britain to Sweden, it is for iron in the groſs, which is afterwards worked up, and large quantities of it re-exported; ſo that money may thereby be brought into the kingdom, and a great number of hands is employed. There is a vaſt difference between this trade, and that to France, from whence the importations into Great-Britain are merely for conſumption, without affording any employment to her people, or any profit by re-exportation. Beſides, if the colonies can get more by carrying their iron to foreign ports, than to Great-Britain, (and if they cannot, there is no occaſion of a law to compel them to carry it to Great-Britain) they will be more able to make larger demands for Britiſh manufactures; ſo that Great-Britain will gain the profits of our iron, to make up her loſs by what ſhe takes from Sweden.

Britain,

Britain, is, in the opinion of ſome of our moſt judicious merchants, to require an impoſſibility: for as this article is ſo heavy, and ſuch ſmall quantities can be ſent in one veſſel, they aſſert, that we cannot find freight directly home for one half of it.

Beſides the circumſtances already mentioned to prove the injurious conſequences of the late reſtrictions, there is another, which has great force in perſuading me, that our trade ought by all means to be more encouraged and extended at this time than was formerly neceſſary. Our ſettlements then comprehended only a narrow ſtrip along the ſhore of the ocean; they were leſs populous; and their diſtance from the ſea ports being ſmall, they were ſupplied with every thing they wanted from thence, without any length of inland carriage. But now we have penetrated boundleſs foreſts, have paſſed over immenſe mountains, and are daily puſhing further and further into the wilderneſs, the inhabitants,

bitants of theſe remote regions muſt of neceſſity hold very little intercourſe with thoſe which are near the ſea, unleſs a very extenſive commerce ſhall enable theſe to ſupply them with ſuch quantities of ‡ foreign commodities as they want, and at ſuch prices as they can afford to pay. Every reſtriction on our trade ſeems to be a reſtriction on this intercourſe, and muſt gradually cut off the connection of the interior parts with the maritime and the mother country.

But it is unneceſſary to endeavour to prove, by reaſoning on theſe things, that we ſhall ſuffer, for we already ſuffer. Trade is decaying, and all credit is expiring. ‖ Money is become ſo extremely ſcarce,

‡ It is apprehended, that if the greateſt part of the commodities demanded by the back country ſhould not be Britiſh but Weſt-Indian, yet it muſt be beneficial to Great-Britain to promote this trade by all means. For if the country nearer the ſea grows rich by ſupplying them with the productions of the Weſt-Indies, theſe will certainly conſume greater quantities of Britiſh manufactures.

‖ It is ſaid that in Virginia, the ſheriffs, inſtead of raiſing the annual levies, have been obliged to make returns into the treaſury, of effects which they have taken in execution, but could not ſell, as there were no bidders for ready money.

that reputable freeholders find it impoſſible to pay debts which are trifling in compariſon to their eſtates. If creditors ſue and take out executions, the lands and perſonal eſtate, as the ſale muſt be for ready-money, are ſold for a ſmall part of what they were worth when the debts were contracted. The debtors are ruined. The creditors get but part of their debts, and that ruins them. Thus the conſumers break the ſhop-keepers; they break the merchants; and the ſhock muſt be felt as far as London. Fortunate, indeed, is the man who can get ſatisfaction in money for any part of his debt in ſome counties; for in many inſtances, after lands and goods have been repeatedly advertiſed in the public gazettes, and expoſed to ſale, not a buyer appears.

By theſe means multitudes are already ruined, and the eſtates of others are melt-away in the ſame manner. It muſt ſtrike any one with great ſurprize and concern, to hear

hear of the number of debtors discharged every court by our insolvent act. Though our courts are held every quarter, yet at the last term for the county of Philadelphia alone, no less than thirty-five persons applied for the benefit of that act. If it be considered, that this law extends only to those who do not owe any single debt above 150l. that many are daily released by the lenity of their creditors, and that many more remove, without their knowledge, it will not be difficult to form a judgment of the condition to which the people are reduced.

If these effects are produced already, what can we expect when the same causes shall have operated longer? What can we expect, when the exhausted colonies shall feel the *Stamp Act* drawing off, as it were, the last drops of their blood? From whence is the silver to come, with which the taxes imposed by this act, and the duties imposed by other late acts, are to be paid? Or how will

will our *merchants* and the *lower ranks of people*, on whom the force of theſe regulations will fall firſt, and with the greateſt violence, bear this additional load?

Theſe laſt are to be conſidered in a very different light from thoſe of the ſame claſſes in Great Britain. *There* the nature of their employments, and the plenty of money give them very little occaſion to make contracts in writing; but *here* they are continually making them, and are obliged to do ſo. The *Stamp Act*, therefore, will be ſeverely felt by *theſe*, in whoſe welfare the proſperity of a ſtate is always ſo much intereſted; and *transfers of property, that ought, in new countries particularly, to be made as eaſy as poſſible, will be much diſcouraged. From the neceſſity they are under of making

* In the preſent ſcarcity of money, the ſellers of lands, negroes, &c. &c. always inſiſt on having part of the purchaſe-money in hand.—The buyers, unleſs they happen to be rich men, find it impoſſible to comply with this term, unleſs they borrow money, which cannot now be done but in very ſmall parcels from different perſons. Each of theſe muſt have a bond; and each of thoſe bonds muſt pay a ſtamp-duty of one ſhilling ſterling, if the ſum be above ten pounds and under twenty--and if above twenty pounds and under forty, one ſhilling and ſix-pence ſterling--beſides a heavy duty on the original contract.

contracts *to be executed afterwards*, the lower ranks of people here are frequently engaged in law ſuits; and as the law is already a very heavy tax on the ſubject in all parts of the Britiſh dominions, this act will render it deſtructive here; for the neceſſities, the follies and the paſſions of mankind, will not ſuffer them to ceaſe from harraſſing one another in that way.

Neither are the merchants here by any means able to bear taxes, as they do at home. A very great number of them there put ſuch ſtocks into trade, as would be thought large fortunes among us; and our merchants would think themſelves very happy to leave off buſineſs with ſuch eſtates as the others begin with. I ſpeak of the merchants in general; for we have on the continent individuals who are rich, but their number is too inconſiderable to deſerve any notice on this occaſion. Beſides, the intereſt of money being lower at home than it is here, thoſe who trade on borrowed ſtocks, can do it to much greater advantage there than we can. Indeed, among us it is almoſt impoſſible

poſſible to get money to trade upon at any rate. How unequal, under the preſent diſadvantages, a merchant's commerce will be to the payment of all the taxes impoſed by the *Stamp Act* on his polices, fees with clerks, charter-parties, proteſts, his other notarial acts, his letters, and even his advertiſements, experience, I am afraid will unhappily prove.

Thus, I apprehend, that this act will be extremely heavy on thoſe who are leaſt able to bear it; and if our merchants and people of little ſubſtance languiſh under it, all others muſt be affected. Our mode of taxation hath always been by making as exact an eſtimate as could be formed of each man's eſtate; by which means, our taxes have been proportioned to the abilities of thoſe who were to pay them. Few perſons are employed in the collection of them; their allowance is very moderate; and therefore the expence is ſmall. No exceſſive penalties, no tribes of informers, no dreadful and deteſtable courts are neceſſary. This I imagine is the mode of taxation, which

in young colonies will be found to be leaſt oppreſſive and deſtructive, and certainly the moſt equal: but by the *Stamp Act*, the ‡ wealthy who have money to let out at intereſt, or to make purchaſes, and undoubtedly ought to pay the moſt towards the public charges, will eſcape theſe taxes, while the whole weight of them will fall on the neceſſitous and induſtrious, who moſt of all require relief and encouragement.

But it may be ſaid, "That the merchants will not be affected by theſe taxes, becauſe they will raiſe the prices of their goods in proportion, and that at length *all taxes muſt ariſe from lands.*"

This rule ſeems more applicable to very populous and rich countries, where the manufacturers and landholders through neceſſity or the force of faſhions, have preſſing demands upon the merchants, than to ſuch a country as this, where a great majority of the people live on their lands in a very

‡ If a rich man buys land, it is generally from the diſtreſſed, and therefore the ſellers ſituation will oblige him to pay for the deed, when the other inſiſts on it; and when a man borrows money, every body knows who pays for the bonds and mortgages.

plain

plain way. For by practiſing a ſtrict frugality and induſtry, *we* may render ourſelves more independent of the merchants, than the circumſtances of more populous and wealthy ſtates will permit the other claſſes of their people to be. The high prices therefore which our merchants impoſe upon their goods, will diſcourage the ſale of them, and conſequently they muſt "be affected by the taxes," which oblige them to raiſe the prices in this manner.

However, granting that all taxes muſt ariſe from lands, it follows, that where the profits of the lands are ſmall, they can bear but ſmall taxes. The more labour is beſtowed on them, the greater the profits *will* be, and the taxes *may* be. In old populous countries there is an opportunity of beſtowing this labour, and the manner of doing it is well underſtood, Thus in England, the profits of land are ſo great, as to ſupport a very large number of nobility and gentry in ſpendor, and to afford means of raiſing taxes to an amazing amount. Nor are the workers of the land

unrewarded

unrewarded; for the farmers have ſuch long leaſes, and other encouragements, that they thrive and live comfortably, and many of them are very wealthy.

How different is the caſe in America? The inhabitants being ſcattered thin through the country, and labourers being very ſcarce, they think themſelves fortunate if they can clear their land, fence it, and any how put their grain into the ground in ſeaſon. Manuring * or improving ſoils is not known, except in ſome ſmall cloſes near cities; but every one muſt be content with what his land will yield of itſelf. With this it muſt be conſidered, that at leaſt four fifths of the people in America live upon farms, either of their own or rented, and ſpend their ſmall profits in maintaining their families; and it frequently happens from the length and ſeverity our winters, that the whole produce of a man's farm is not ſufficient to maintain

* "Further, it may be obſerved, that our lands are not ſufficiently cultivated, even where they are capable of great improvement. Hence large tracts ſerve only to maintain a ſmall number of people. If we aſk, why our lands (meaning in Scotland) are ſo ill cultivated,

maintain his family and ſtock *.

We are informed, that an opinion has been induſtriouſly propagated in Great Britain, that the colonies are † wallowing in

ted, beſides the obvious cauſes ariſing from the poverty and unſkilfulneſs of many of our farmers, the ſhortneſs of their leaſes, and other things which will occur upon the leaſt reflection, it is not a little owing to a want of inclination for agriculture, &c."

Diſſertation on the numbers of mankind.

* Small as the value of our land is, it is ſtill daily decreaſing, by the number of markets for their produce being leſſened; which muſt in time give the people an inclination to try what they can make by manufactures.

The riches of a people are always in proportion to the number of hands employed in works of ſkill and labour. Where theſe are few there can be but little wealth; and where there is little wealth, but very ſmall taxes can be born.

† "It is certain, that from the very time Sir Walter Raleigh, the father of our Engliſh colonies, and his aſſociates, firſt projected theſe eſtabliſhments, there have been perſons who have found an intereſt, in miſrepreſenting, or leſſening the value of them---The attempts were called chimerical and dangerous. Afterwards many malignant ſuggeſtions were made about ſacrificing ſo many Engliſhmen to the obſtinate deſire of ſettling colonies in countries which then produce very little advantage. But as theſe difficulties were gradually ſurmounted, thoſe complaints vaniſhed. No ſooner were theſe lamentations over, but others aroſe in their ſtead; when it could be no longer ſaid, that the colonies were uſeleſs, it was alledged that they were not uſeful enough to their mother country; that, while we were loaded with taxes, they were abſolutely free; that the planters lived like Princes, while the inhabitants of England laboured hard for a tolerable ſubſiſtence. This produced cuſtoms and impoſitions, which, if grievous to the plantations, muſt turn to our diſadvantage, as well as theirs, and conſequently become detrimental to both."

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wealth and luxury, while ſhe is labouring under an enormous load of debt. Never was there a greater miſtake. This opinion has ariſen from ſlight obſervations made in our cities during the late war, when large ſums of money were ſpent here in ſupport of fleets and armies. Our productions were then in great demand, and trade flouriſhed. Having a number of ſtrangers among us, the people, naturally not ungenerous or inhoſpitable, indulged themſelves in many uncommon expences. But the cauſe of this gaiety has ceaſed, and all the effect remaining is, that we are to be treated as a rich people, when we are really poor. Tully mentions a man who loſt an honourable office, by the homely entertainment he gave the people of Rome, when he could have afforded a better; but we have loſt vaſtly more by the imprudent exceſs of kindneſs, with which we have treated the people of Great Britain who have come among us, at an expence that did not ſuit our fortunes.

In purſuance of this deſign to bring down the pride of theſe Princely planters, ſuch heavy impoſitions were laid in Great-Britain on tobacco, that the inhabitants of Maryland and Virginia were diſcouraged from raiſing it. Then the mother country felt her error, and theſe Princes were found to be very poor people. The ſame unhappy ſpirit is now producing the ſame miſtake. There wants but a very litttle more weight upon Maryland and Virginia, to prevent their raiſing tobacco, and to make them and all their ſiſter colonies ſink under their multiplied burthens.

To all the diſadvantages that have been mentioned, it muſt be added, that our markets are much more precarious than thoſe at home. It is computed, that one half of the people there live in cities, and conſequently there muſt be a perpetual domeſtic demand for the productions of the earth; and foreign markets are not far diſtant for the overplus. Here the quantity ſold for conſumption among us is ſmall, and moſt of the foreign markets are very remote.

THESE reaſons induce me to think, that the colonies, unleſs ſome fortunate events, not to be expected, ſhould happen, cannot bear the reſtrictions and taxations laid upon them by their mother country, without ſuffering very ſeverely. What then can we do? Which way ſhall we turn ourſelves? How may we mitigate the miſeries of our country? *Great-Britain* gives us an example to guide us. SHE TEACHES US TO MAKE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN HER INTERESTS AND OUR OWN. Teaches! She requires—

commands—inſiſts upon it—threatens——compels——and even diſtreſſes us into it.

We have our choice of theſe two things——to continue our preſent limited and diſadvantageous commerce——or to promote manufactures among ourſelves, with a habit of œconomy, and thereby remove the neceſſity we are now under of being ſupplied by *Great-Britain*.

It is not difficult to determine which of theſe things is moſt eligible. Could the laſt of them be only ſo far executed, as to bring our demand for *Britiſh* manufactures below the profits of our foreign trade, and the amount of our commodities immediately remitted home, theſe colonies might revive and flouriſh. States and families are enriched by the ſame means; that is, by being ſo induſtrious and frugal, as to ſpend leſs than what they raiſe can pay for.

We have examples in this province, which if imitated by others, muſt unavoidably produce the moſt happy effects for us: I mean the

the examples of the induſtrious, frugal, honeſt *Germans*. Their lands are as well cultivated as they can be in this new country, and they have the good ſenſe to require very little proviſions and cloaths more than they can get from their own farms, and make with their own hands. If we only conſider for a moment, the conſequences of ſuch a conduct, ſhould it be general, we muſt be convinced it muſt produce commerce, ſince all ſuperfluities would be exported; and the Owners having few demands in return, *that commerce* would of courſe produce wealth.

INDEED we ſhall be compelled, I apprehend, generally to imitate theſe examples. The late regulations, and our conſtant remittances to *Great-Britain*, have extremely leſſened the quantity of money among us, and yet theſe remittances are not ſufficient to pay for thoſe things we want from home. Neceſſity will teach us two ways to relieve ourſelves. The one is, to keep the *Britiſh* manufuctures we purchaſe longer in uſe or wear than we have been accuſtomed to do. The other is, to ſupply their place by manufactures of our own. I dont ſuppoſe our

difficulties will *immediately* produce expert artiſts among us; but as the inhabitants here generally reſide on their lands, and live in a plain ruſtic way, they will be able to ſupply themſelves with many articles. Some author, and I think *Keyſler*, ſays, that in *Switzerland*, every family has all the trades in it that are neceſſary for its uſe. Their work is not, it may be preſumed, at all in the taſte of *London* or *Paris*, but it ſerves their purpoſe; and their coarſe cloaths and ſimple furniture enable them to live in plenty, and to defend their liberty. Something of this kind will be, nay, already is, practiſed by us. It is ſurpriſing to ſee the linen and cloth that have been lately made among us. Many gentlemen in this city, dreſs now in ſuits produced, manufactured, and made up in this province. The cloth is not equal in fineneſs to the beſt broad-cloth, but it is warm, ſtrong, and not very homely; and when the *Britiſh* workmen underſtand that they may meet with better encouragement here than they do at home, I believe in a few years we ſhall have very different kinds of cloth among us from theſe we now make. Inſtances are not wanting to juſtify the moſt

ſanguine

ſanguine expectations on this head. *Spain* uſed formerly to be entirely ſupplied with cloths from *England*; but in the reigns only of their two laſt kings, *Philip* the Vth, and *Ferdinand* the VIth, their manufactures have been improved to ſuch a degree, even by that proud and indolent people, that this commerce has entirely ceaſed in moſt parts of that kingdom. The ſame thing has happened in *France*, notwithſtanding the deſtructive wars in which ſhe has been continually involved. *Switzerland* ſome time ago ſpent large ſums of money in foreign commodities; but now they make excellent cloths, and good ſilks, though the ſcheme at firſt labored under very great difficulties. That country uſed alſo to be ſupplied by *Savoy* with wine; but the Duke laying a duty upon it, the *Switzers* remonſtrated, but in vain. At laſt ſome of the principal men promoted the cultivation of vines, though their predeceſſors had never planted any. The reſult exceeded their hopes. * "The demand for the *Savoyard* wine daily decreaſed, and inſtead of the precarious advantage

* *Keyſler*,

ariſing

arising from this *impolitic duty*, the certain revenue was *irretriveably lost*, and the industrious subject deprived of the benefit of his labour."

"BEFORE the settlement of these colonies," says *Postlethwayt*, "our manufactures were few, and those but indifferent. In those days we had not only our naval stores, but our ships from our neighbours. *Germany* furnished us with all things made of metal, even to nails. Wine, paper, linens, and a thousand other things, came from *France*. *Portugal* supplied us with sugar; all the products of *America* were poured into us from *Spain*; and the *Venetians* and *Genoese* retailed to us the commodities of the *East-Indies*, at their own price."

THE astonishing alterations in all these particulars, are too well known to need enumeration.

THESE instances, and many others that might be mentioned, may convince us, that nothing is too difficult for men to effect, whose hearts are filled with a generous love

of

of their country; and they may convince the world of the dangers that attend provoking innovations in commerce. A branch of trade once loſt, is loſt for ever. In ſhort, ſo ſtrong a ſpirit is raiſed in theſe colonies by late meaſures, and ſuch ſucceſsful efforts are already made among us, that it cannot be doubted, that before the end of this century, the modern regulations will teach *America*, that ſhe has reſources within herſelf, of which ſhe never otherwiſe would have thought. Individuals, perhaps, may find their benefit in oppoſing her uſe of theſe reſources; but I hope very, very few, will wiſh to receive benefits by ſuch means. The man who would promote his own intereſts by injuring his country, is unworthy of the bleſſings of ſociety.

It has hitherto been thought, by the people of *Great Britain*, and I hope it will ſtill be thought, that ſufficient advantages are derived by her from the colonies, without laying taxes upon them. To repreſent them as an "expenſive appendage of the *Britiſh* empire, that can no other way repay the trouble and treaſure they coſt her," is certainly

one

one of the greateſt errors; and to ſpend much time in refuting this notion, would be unneceſſary. Every advantage accruing to the colonies by their connection with the mother country, is *amply—dearly*—paid for, by the benefits derived to her from them, and by the reſtrictions of their commerce. Theſe benefits have been allowed by the beſt writers, to be immenſe, and * conſiſt in the various employment, and the ſupport they afford her people. If the colonies enable *her* to pay taxes, is it not as uſeful to her, as if *they* paid them? Or, indeed, may not the colonies with the ſtricteſt propriety be ſaid to pay a great part of thoſe taxes, when they conſume the *Britiſh* manufactures loaded with the advanced prices occaſioned by ſuch taxes? Or, further, as the colonies are compelled to take thoſe manufactures thus † loaded, when they might

* Chiefly; even the ſupplying her with naval ſtores, &c. being inconſiderable, when compared with the other advantages.

† "If it be aſked, whether foreigners, for what goods thay take of us, do not pay on *that conſumption* a great portion of our taxes? It is admitted they do."

POSTLE-

might furniſh themſelves ſo much cheaper from other countries, may not the difference between theſe prices be called an *enormous tax* paid by them to *Great Britain*? May they not alſo be ſaid to pay *an enormous tax* to her, by being compelled to carry their moſt valuable productions *to her alone*, and to receive what ſhe pleaſes to give for them, when they might ſell them at other markets to much greater advantage? Laſtly, may they not be ſaid to pay a heavy tax to her, in being prohibited from carrying on ſuch manufactures

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POSTLETHWAYT's *Great Britain's* true ſyſtem.

By the conſumption of *Britiſh* manufactures in *America*, we pay a heavier tax to *Great Britain*, than if they were conſumed at home. For in the bringing them here, a vaſt number of merchants, factors, brokers and ſeamen are employed, every one of which muſt have ſuch a profit, as will enable him to ſupport himſelf and his family, if he has any, in a country where every thing is dear by reaſon of the high taxes.

So far was the parliament from thinking in the laſt war, that any further taxes ſhould be laid on the colonies, ſo convinced indeed were they, that we had exceeded our abilities in the ſupplies we gave to the crown, that ſeveral ſums of money were granted to us, as indemnifications for the too heavy expences in which we had involved ourſelves.

The ſums thus given, paid part of our debts, but we are ſtill labouring under the remainder.

as they could have employed themſelves in with advantage, and thus being obliged to reſort to her for thoſe things with which they might ſupply themſelves? If theſe things are true, and can they be denied! may not the mother country more juſtly be called *expenſive* to her colonies, than they can be called *expenſive* to her?

WHAT would *France* give for ſuch *expenſive* dominions? Would ſhe refuſe the empire of *North-America*, unleſs the inhabitants would ſubmit to any taxes ſhe ſhould pleaſe to impoſe? Or would ſhe not rather afford them her utmoſt protection, if ever they ſhould be wretched enough to require it, for one half of the emoluments *Great Britain* receives from them? In ſhort, the amazing increaſe of the wealth and ſtrength of this kingdom, ſince the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, in whoſe time the colonies began to be ſettled, appears to be a ſufficient proof of their importance: And therefore I think it may juſtly be ſaid, that THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE POWER AND GLORY OF GREAT BRITAIN ARE LAID IN AMERICA.

WHEN the advantages derived by the mother country from her colonies are ſo * *important* and *evident*, it is amazing, that any perſons ſhould venture to aſſert, "that ſhe poured out her wealth and blood in the late war, *only for their defence and benefit*; and that ſhe cannot be recompenced for this expence and loſs, *but by taxing them.*"

IF any man, who does not chuſe to ſpend much time in conſidering this ſubject, would only read the ſpeeches from the throne during that period, with the addreſſes in anſwer to them, he will ſoon be convinced *for whoſe benefit Great Britain* thought ſhe was exerting herſelf. For my part, I ſhould not now be ſurprized, if thoſe who maintain the above-mentioned aſſertions, ſhould contend, that *Great Britain* ought to tax *Portugal*. For was not that kingdom "defended by the troops and treaſure of *Great Britain*? And how can ſhe be "otherwiſe recompenſed for this expence and loſs?" If the protection of

* Vide notes to page 4.

Portugal, though no taxes are received from thence, was beneficial to *Great Britain*, infinitely more ſo was the protection of the colonies.

So far I muſt beg leave to diſſent from theſe gentlemen, that if the colonies, by an increaſe of induſtry and frugality, ſhould become able to bear this taxation, it will, in my apprehenſion, notwithſtanding be injurious to *Great Britain*. If the ſum be trifling, it cannot be worth the diſcontent and unhappineſs the taking it will produce among ſo many faithful ſubjects of his Majeſty. If it be conſiderable, it muſt alſo be hurtful in another reſpect.

It muſt be granted, that it is not merely the bringing money into a nation that makes it wealthy, but the bringing money into it by the general induſtry of its inhabitants. A country may perpetually receive vaſt ſums, and yet be perpetually poor. It muſt alſo be granted, that almoſt all the money acquired by the colonies in their other branches of trade, is ſpent by them in *Great Britain*,

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and finds employment for her people. Whatever then leſſens the ſum ſo ſpent, muſt leſſen that employment. This I think will be one conſequence of the STAMP ACT: For our demand will be as much leſs for *Britiſh* manufactures, as the amount of the ſums raiſed by the taxes. So much the fewer *Britiſh* merchants, artiſts, ſeamen and ſhips will be employed by us, and ſo much the more diſtreſſed at firſt, and afterwards ſo much the more frugal, * ingenious, laborious and independent will the coloniſts become.

IT is evident from the concurrent teſtimony of her own moſt noted authors on this ſubject, that *Great-Britain* is ſure of having our money at † laſt; and it appears no difficult matter to determine, whether it is better to take it in taxes or trade.—Suppoſe the

* *Great Britain* will not only loſe in ſuch caſe, the annual amount of the taxes, but the people of *America* eſtabliſhing manufactures thro' diſcontent, will in time entirely withdraw their intercourſe with her—And therefore her loſs of the whole *American* trade, may be juſtly attributed to this inauſpicious beginning.

† See notes to page 4.

STAMP

STAMP ACT, enforced by uncommon penalties and unheard of juriſdictions, ſhould pick up every piece of gold and ſilver that ſhall wander into the plantations, what would *Great-Britain* gain by this meaſure? Or rather what would ſhe not loſe, by attempting to advance her revenue by means ſo diſtreſſing to commerce?

BUT if the late reſtrictions ſhall not prove *profitable*, perhaps they may by ſome be called *prudent* for another reaſon. We are informed, that many perſons at home affect to ſpeak of the *coloniſts*, as of a people deſigning and endeavouring to render themſelves independent, and therefore it may be ſaid to be proper as much as poſſible to depreſs them. This method for ſecuring obedience, has been tried by many powerful nations, and ſeems to be the conſtant policy of commonwealths: But the attempt in almoſt every inſtance from *Athens* down to *Genoa*, has been unſucceſsful. Many ſtates and kingdoms have loſt their dominions by ſeverity and unjuſt jealouſy. I remember none that have been loſt by kindneſs and a generous confidence. Evils are frequently preci-

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pitated by imprudent attempts to prevent them. In ſhort, we never can be made an independent people, except it be by * *Great-Britain*

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* "If we are afraid that one day or other the colonies will revolt, and ſet up for themſelves, as ſome ſeem to apprehend, let us not *drive* them to a *neceſſity* to *feel* themſelves independent of us; as they *will* do, the moment they perceive that *they can be ſupplied with all things from within themſelves*, and do not need our aſſiſtance. If we would keep them ſtill dependent upon their mother country, and in ſome reſpects *ſubſervient* to their *views* and welfare; let us make it their INTEREST always to be ſo." TUCKER on trade.

"Our colonies, while they have *Engliſh* blood in their veins, and have relations in *England*, and WHILE THEY CAN GET BY TRADING WITH US, the *ſtronger* and *greater they* grow, the *more* this *crown* and *kingdom* will *get* by them; and nothing but ſuch an arbitrary power as ſhall make them deſperate can bring them to rebel." DAVENANT on the plantation trade.

"The Northern colonies are not upon the ſame footing as thoſe of the South; and having a worſe ſoil to improve, they muſt find the recompence ſome other way, which only can be in property and dominion: Upon which ſcore, any innovations in the form of government there, ſhould be cautiouſly examined, for fear of entering upon meaſures, by which the induſtry of the inhabitants be quite diſcouraged. 'Tis ALWAYS UNFORTUNATE for a people, either by CONSENT or upon COMPULSION, to depart from their PRIMITIVE INSTITUTIONS, and

Britain herſelf; and the only way for her to do it, is to make us frugal, ingenious, * united and diſcontented.

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and thoſe FUNDAMENTALS, by which they were FIRST UNITED TOGETHER.

Idem.

* The moſt effectual way of *uniting* the colonies, is to make it their common intereſt to oppoſe the deſigns and attempts of *Great Britain.*

"All wiſe ſtates will well conſider how to preſerve the advantages ariſing from colonies, and avoid the evils. And I conceive that there can be but TWO ways in nature to hinder them from throwing off their dependence; *one*, to keep it out of their *power*, and the *other*, out of their *will*. The *firſt* muſt be by *force*; and the *latter*, by *uſing them well*, and keeping them employed in ſuch productions, and making ſuch manufactures, as will ſupport themſelves and families comfortably, *and procure them wealth too*, and at leaſt not prejudice their mother country.

Force can never be uſed effectually to anſwer the end, *without deſtroying the colonies themſelves.* Liberty and encouragement are neceſſary to carry people thither, and to keep them together when they are there: and violence will hinder both. Any body of troops conſiderable enough to awe them, and keep them in ſubjection under the direction too of a needy governor, often ſent thither to make his fortune, and at ſuch a diſtance from any application for redreſs, will ſoon put an end to all planting, and leave the country to the ſoldiers alone, and if it did not, *would eat up all the profit of the colony.* For

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BUT if this event ſhall ever happen, which Providence I hope will never permit, it muſt be when the preſent generation and the preſent ſet of ſentiments are extinct.

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this reaſon, arbitrary countries have not been equally ſucceſsful in planting colonies with free ones; and what they have done in that kind, has either been by force at a vaſt expence, or *by departing from the nature of their government*, and *giving ſuch privileges to planters* as were *denied to their other ſubjects*. And I dare ſay, that a few prudent laws, and a little prudent conduct, would ſoon give us far the greateſt ſhare of the riches of all *America*, perhaps drive many of other nations out of it, or into our colonies for ſhelter.

"There are *ſo many exigencies* in all ſtates, *ſo many foreign wars*, and *domeſtic diſturbances*, that theſe colonies CAN NEVER WANT OPPORTUNITIES, if they watch for them, *to do what they ſhall find their intereſt to do*; and therefore we ought to take all the precautions in our power, that it ſhall never be *their intereſt* to act againſt that of their native country; an evil which can no otherwiſe be averted, than by keeping them *fully employed* in ſuch trades *as will encreaſe their own*, as well as our wealth; for it is much to be feared, if we do not find employment for *them*, they may find it for *us*. The intereſt of the mother country, is always to keep them dependent, and ſo employed; and it requires all her addreſs to do it; and it is certainly more *eaſily* and *effectually* done by *gentle* and *inſenſible* methods, than by *power* alone."

CATO's letters.

Late meaſures have indeed excited an univerſal and unexampled grief and indignation throughout the colonies. What man, who wiſhes the welfare of *America*, can view without pity, without paſſion, her reſtricted and almoſt ſtagnated trade, with its numerous train of evils——taxes torn from her without her conſent.—Her legiſlative aſſemblies, the principal pillars of her liberty, cruſhed into inſignificance.——A formidable force eſtabliſhed in the midſt of peace, to bleed her into obedience—The ſacred right of trial by jury, violated by the erection of arbitrary and unconſtitutional juriſdictions ——and general poverty, diſcontent and deſpondence ſtretching themſelves over his unoffending country?

The reflections of the coloniſts on theſe melancholy ſubjects, are not a little embittered by a firm perſuaſion, that they never would have been treated as they are, if *Canada* ſtill continued in the hands of the *French*. Thus, their hearts glowing with every ſentiment of duty and affection towards their mother country, and expecting, not unreaſonably perhaps, ſome marks of

tenderneſs

tenderneſs in return, are pierced by a fatal diſcovery, that the vigorous aſſiſtance which they faithfully afforded her in extending her dominions, has not only proved the glorious but deſtructive cauſe of the calamities they now deplore and reſent.

YET, ſtill their reſentment is but the reſentment of dutiful children, who have received unmerited blows from a beloved parent. Their obedience to *Great-Britain* is ſecured by the beſt and ſtrongeſt ties, *thoſe of affection*; which alone *can*, and I hope *will* form an everlaſting union between her and her colonies. May no ſucceſſes or ſuſpicions ever tempt *her*, to deviate from the natural generoſity of her ſpirit——And may no dreadful revolution of ſentiments, ever teach *them*, to fear her victories, or to repine at her glories.

I am, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Have omitted mentioning one thing that ſeems to be connected with the foregoing ſubject.

WITH a vaſt expence of blood and wealth, we fought our way in the late war up to the doors of the *Spaniſh* treaſuries, and by the poſſeſſion of *Florida*, might obtain ſome recompence for that expence. *Penſacola*, and the other ports in that country, are convenient places, where the *Spaniards* might meet us, and exchange their ſilver for the manufactures of *Great-Britain* and the proviſions of theſe colonies. By this means, a commerce inconceiveably beneficial to the *Britiſh* ſubjects might be carried on. This commerce the *Spaniards* wiſh and have endeavoured to carry on. Many hundred thouſand dollars have been brought by them to *Penſacola* to lay out there; but the men of war

war on that ſtation have compelled them to take back their cargoes, *the receipt of which*, it may from thence be preſumed, *would be deſtructive to the intereſts of Great-Britain.*— Thus we receive leſs advantage from *Florida*, now it belongs to us, than we did when it was poſſeſſed by our enemies; for then, by permiſſion from the *Spaniſh* governors to trade there, we derived conſiderable emoluments from our intercourſe with them.

UPON what reaſons this conduct is founded, is not eaſy to determine. Sure no one conſiders *Florida* in the ſame light with *theſe colonies*, and thinks that no veſſels ſhould be permitted to trade there, but *Britiſh* ſhipping. This would be to apply the acts of navigation to purpoſes directly oppoſite to the ſpirit of them. They were intended to preſerve an intercourſe between the *mother country* and her *colonies*, and thus to cultivate a *mutual affection*; to promote the intereſts of *both*, by an exchange of *their* moſt valuable productions for *her* manufactures; thereby to increaſe the ſhipping of both; and thus render them capable of affording aid to each other. Which of theſe purpoſes

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is answered by prohibiting a commerce, that can be no other way carried on? That is, by forbidding the *Spaniards* to bring their wealth *for us* to *Florida*, which is an unhealthy sand-bank, held by a garrison, at a great expence of money, and a greater of lives, that cannot for ages, if ever it will, yield a single advantage to *Great-Britain*, but *that* she refuses to enjoy.

FINIS.